

INFORMATION REPORT

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SUBJECT Underground Organization of the Tudeh Party

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1. Echelons of the Tudeh Party ¹

A. Central Committee. Subsequent to February 1949 when the Tudeh Party went completely underground, the composition, activities, and location of the Central Committee have been obscure. Although the Committee is presumed to exist, the Party members have no direct contact with members of the Central Committee as they had had prior to 1949 when the activities of Committee members were overt and similar to those of the leaders of any political party, such as attending Party rallies, delivering speeches, and visiting the overt Tudeh Club. Currently their existence is clandestine; their activities secret; and their identities unknown to the majority of Tudeh members.

[redacted] Engineer Ghassemi (fnu), who currently heads publicity for the Partisans of Peace (a Tudeh-front organization) is one of the Central Committee members, but this is not definite. ² It may also be presumed that some of the ten Tudeh leaders who "escaped" from jail in December 1950 may be directing the Party. ³

B. Provincial Committee (Ayalati Comite). The highest Tudeh echelon, subordinate to the Central Committee, is the Provincial (Ayalati) Committee. There is one Provincial Committee for the Tehran area. [redacted] know the number or the locations of other Provincial Committees in Iran. [redacted] believes that the Tehran Provincial Committee is composed of three members (whose identities are unknown to him) and that the membership can be increased to a maximum of five.

C. District Committee (Mahalli Comité). In Tehran (at least) there are a number of District (Mahalli) Committees which direct Party activities in that section of the city in which the Committees are located. [redacted] the number of District Committees in Tehran but estimates that there are approximately ten. Two of the District Committees [redacted] are District Committees Nos. 7 and 8, which would indicate that there are at least 8 such Committees in Tehran (assuming that the Committees are numbered consecutively). There are three members of each District Committee in addition to the Committee Counsellor, who in certain cases is a Soviet citizen.

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- D. Sub-District Committee (Bakhsh Comité). Subordinate to the District Committees there are Sub-District (Bakhsh) Committees. Each Sub-District Committee is composed of from three to five members. The Sub-District Committee is actually little more than the apex of the cell structure subordinate to the District Committee, and is in fact referred to sometimes as the Hauzeh Bakhsh or Bakhsh cell, rather than the Sub-District Committee (Bakhsh Comité).
- E. Cell Structure (Hauzeh Rasmi). Each member of the Sub-District (Bakhsh) Committee heads a three-man cell in a lower echelon, which in turn controls another subordinate cell, and so on in ever-expanding fashion. This three-man cell structure, composed of actual card-holding Party members, is known as the official cell (Hauzeh Rasmi) and constitutes the hard core of the Party.
- F. Probationary Cells. The lowest echelon in the cell structure consists of cells of up to 15 persons each. For the most part, these cell members are not official card-holding Party members but are probationary members still undergoing training and "education." Hence these cells are not included in the official cells (Hauzeh Rasmi). Such participants as are card-holding official members are in the probationary cells solely for control and instruction purposes and invariably belong to their own cells within the official cell structure.

2. Structure of One District Committee (including its Communications System).

Comment. District (Mahalli) Committee No. 7 is explained below in some detail. It is assumed that this is typical of District Committees, at least in the Tehran area. District Committee No. 7 covers southeast Tehran as far as the suburb of Rai and, therefore, can be considered the District Committee with the largest industrial population. In this area are the majority of Tehran's brick factories with a concentration of industrial workers. The Tudeh Party, through its labor affiliate, the Central United Council of Trade Unions, is particularly strong in this section of Tehran.

A. Leadership

- (1) District Committee No. 7 is composed of a Counsellor who controls the Committee and its policy, and three Committee members.

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B. Contact and Communications

- (1) District (Mahalli) Committee No. 7 maintains normal contact with the Provincial (Ayalati) Committee for Tehran on the higher echelon by means of three couriers:
 - (a) Political Courier. The political courier carries instructions concerning activities which should be conducted weekly by the District Committee.
 - (b) Publications or Press Courier. The publications courier is charged with delivery of all Tudeh press organs, such as Mardom and other publications, to the District Committee for sale. The District Committee, in turn, passes the publications to the Sub-District (Bakhsh) cells and echelons for sale and distribution.
 - (c) Document Courier. The document courier carries documentation (such as Party application blanks, Party cards, and forged sigils), cell and Bakhsh cell progress reports, members' contact instructions, Party resolutions, and other miscellaneous announcements between the Provincial Committee and District Committee No. 7.

- (3) District Committee No. 7 also maintains contact with the subordinate Sub-District (Bakhsh) Committees (the number of Sub-District Committees is unknown to informant) by means of three couriers: the political, press, and document couriers. These individuals, however, are members of the Bakhsh Committees and not professional Party Couriers, as are the couriers between the District Committee and the Tehran Provincial Committee.

3. Tudeh Publications and Publicity

- A. The Party publishes three clandestine newspapers: Mardom, Razm (Tudeh Youth Organ), and Zafar (Central United Council organ). In addition to these, the Party controls a group of overtly-published front newspapers, the most important of which is Besuyi-Ayandeh.⁴ The latter paper is used by the Party as a "sounding board" for Tudeh propaganda and for printing certain announcements, such as dates and locations of Tudeh-front group demonstrations. Although the Tudeh or Tudeh-controlled newspapers serve mainly as propaganda and require, therefore, subsidization, the Party presses sales as much as it can in order to cut to the minimum the losses which it must sustain.⁶

B. Publications Other than Newspapers

- (1) For the printing of handbills, announcements, and instructions, the Tudeh Party has several clandestine portable presses operated by foot pedals. For security reasons the locations of these presses is changed frequently.

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- (2) The following (which describes the printing of announcements of the "Tenth Anniversary of the Tudeh Party") may be typical of the method by which the Tudeh operates its clandestine portable presses:

A small portable press, picked up by a Party courier at a rendezvous in Tehran, was transported by vehicle to a certain village where local authorities who were considered pro-Tudeh would not interfere with the Party printing activities. Although the general area of the destination of the press was known in advance, the exact destination was unknown. Upon arrival in the village, the press was delivered to a muhajir who, with two other individuals (all of whom were known by code names), was the custodian and possibly the operator of the press.⁸ Although [redacted] did not know how many of these announcements were printed in the village, he estimated that approximately 100,000 were printed throughout Iran.⁹ 25X1

4. Medical Attention for Members of the Tudeh Party

A Dr. Mozhdeshi (fnu) is in charge of all Tudeh doctors. The Party has devised a system by which medicines for the treatment of ailing Tudeh members are obtained free of charge from the University of Tehran Medical College. The following Tehran doctors, who are Tudeh members or sympathizers, treat members without charge: Dr. Aadin (fnu); Dr. Puya (fnu); Dr. Razavi (fnu); Dr. Mashayeki (fnu); Dr. Najmabadi (fnu).

5. The Financing of the Tudeh Party

- A. Although it can be presumed that the Party is to some extent subsidized by the Soviets, the details of Party financing are divulged only to the members of the highest echelon Central Committee.
- B. The Party receives a considerable income from dues and contributions, although no figures are available. The official membership dues schedule is based upon percentage of salary. A member earning a salary of 1000 rials must contribute 5 rials monthly. However, the Party encourages its members to pay more than the minimum requirements.¹⁰
- C. Also in the Tudeh Six Months Program from March to September 1951 members were asked to solicit financial assistance from sympathizers outside the Party.¹¹
- D. Additional funds are obtained by various benefits organized under the auspices of Tudeh-front organizations.
- E. In the Central Council of Trade Unions, dues are 1 percent on salaries of up to 1,000 rials monthly; 2 percent on salaries up to 2,000 monthly; and 3 percent on salaries of more than 2,000 rials monthly.

6. Method of Joining the Tudeh Party.

- A. In general, individuals must be recruited to join the Party and cannot be invited to join after a "cold" voluntary approach. Recruits are selected by a variety of methods. A Party member can recommend friends whom he has already approached or made susceptible. Members of the Tudeh-front organizations who appear to be sincere communist sympathizers and who have exhibited exceptional zeal may be selected for membership. Workers whose records have shown that they have the proper attitude toward their "capitalistic exploiters" are recruited into Tudeh clandestine syndicates or Tudeh-controlled legal syndicates and later frequently are admitted to membership in the Tudeh Party.
- B. Subsequent to recruitment a member is given probationary status, during which he is assigned various Party tasks, given political indoctrination, training in conspiratorial tactics, and Marxist economic theory. The duration of the probationary period varies according to proficiency, attitude, and zeal of the probationary members. During this period the neophyte is a member of one of the 15-man cells described above.

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- C. Prior to accepting an individual as a full member, the Party makes a security check. [] the Tudeh penetration of the Police, including the Secret Police, is so thorough and efficient that it is standard procedure for the Party to check the names of potential Tudeh members in the Police files.

7. Party Inspection and Political Indoctrination

A. Inspection.

- (1) The Party has a system of cell inspection carried out by "Party Police." The inspectors are able to travel through the cell structure for the purpose of ascertaining whether:
 - (a) the cell actually exists (in order to eliminate fraud);
 - (b) there are as many members of the cell as reported;
 - (c) the cell's financial records are in order;
 - (d) the administration of the cell is generally efficient.
- (2) Inspectors are admitted to cell meetings only after giving the proper "pass-phrase." They may not, however, attend the business meetings of the cell. Presumably, inspections can be made without warning.
- (3) Inspectors are chosen by each Committee (Central, Provincial, District, and Sub-District) from the most trusted members of the Party.

- B. Political Indoctrination. The Party has political instructors known as "guyandehs" who give communist indoctrination lectures to the cells. The guyandehs may travel through the cell structure, as do the inspectors, although visits of the former to the cells are made by appointments unlike those of the inspectors. Usually the guyandehs are chosen from the intelligentsia of the Party by the Provincial Committee.

8. Party Documentation

Documentation includes the following:

- A. Membership book of the Central United Council of Trade Unions.¹²
- B. Application forms for admission into the Tudeh Party.¹³
- C. Application forms for entrance into the Tudeh labor affiliate, the Central United Council of Trade Unions.¹⁴
- D. Order to Central United Council member to establish contact.¹⁵
- E. Sub-District (Hauzeh Bakhsh) Committee official cell report.¹⁶
- F. Roster of Central United Council Clandestine Central United Council Syndicate.¹

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13. ☐ Comment. The applicant for Tudeh membership must have a nominator and a seconder, both of whom are Party members. The questions included in the brief questionnaire shed some light on the mechanics of joining the Party. For example, it lists "Party Activities and Political Career." This would indicate that the questionnaire is not completed until the applicant has finished his probationary period and is ready to become a full-fledged member. It appears that applicants are frequently active workers for the Party, Tudeh syndicates, or possibly a Tudeh-front group prior to becoming a Party card holder.

25X1A 14. ☐ Comment. From the application forms for admission to the Central United Council, it would appear that, even while underground, the Central United Council maintains the formality of approving applications on three echelons; namely, the administrative body of the Trade Union or syndicate to which the applicant belongs; the administrative body of the Regional Council; and the Commission of the General Organization or Central Committee.

The following two questions are asked applicants: "Have you been a member of another trade union since the fall of the Azerbaijan Democrat regime in 1946?" and "At what date did you rejoin the Central United Council?" This would indicate that there was a general severing of lines and communications following the first Tudeh setback during the premiership of Ahmad Qavam in 1946. At least, the Central United Council

apparently remained dormant for a considerable time. The next question: "After the attempted assassination of the Shah when was your contact re-established?" similarly reveals that the Tudeh reaction to suppression (which was even more severe at this time than after the fall of the Azerbaijan Democrat Government) was to sever all lines. In this case, it meant that the Central United Council, and probably also the Tudeh Party, apparently for several months gradually had to reorganize the organization which had been voluntarily broken up at the time that the Party went completely underground. In the case of one applicant, the individual was not recontacted for nearly three years.

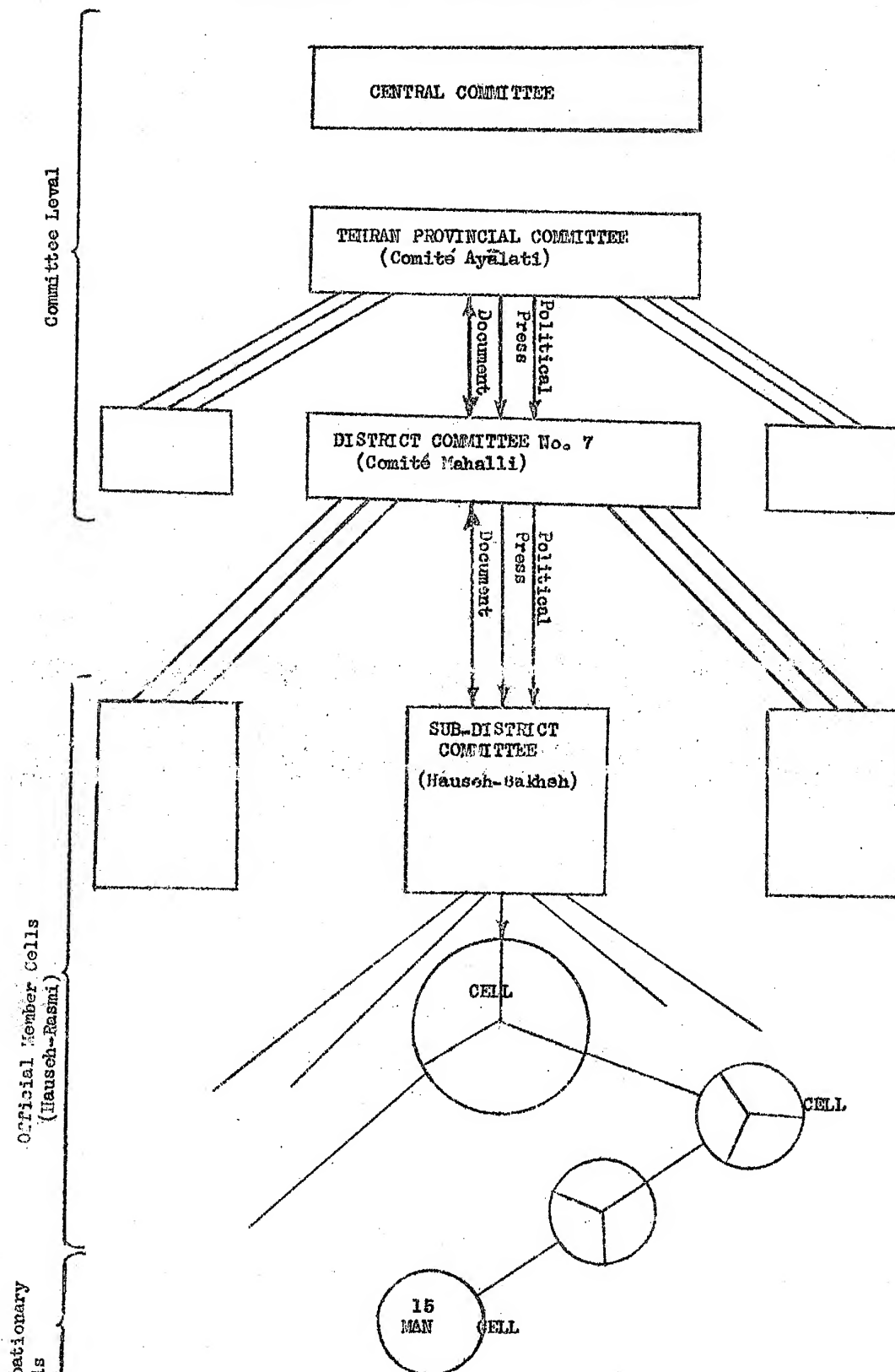
25X1A 15. ☐ Comment. This order, which was carried by a Tudeh Party courier between the Provincial (Ayalati) Committee for Tehran and the District (Mahalli) Committee No. 7, is signed by the Central United Council of the Trade Unions. It is probable that the Tudeh and the Central United Council underground organization has become almost indistinguishable as far as higher echelon administration is concerned. Also Central United Council members who are affiliates of clandestine syndicates or Tudeh-front syndicates may also be cell members of the main Tudeh Party.

25X1A 16. ☐ Comment. The Sub-District (Hauzeh Bakhsh) Committee official cell report reveals the close records maintained by the Tudeh Party on the cells and serves to give some insight to the types of activities carried on by cell members. ☐ for more detailed and specific discussion of the Tudeh Six Months' Program. 25X1A

25X1A 17. ☐ Comment. The roster of this syndicate lists names of cell members, with pseudonyms and number of dependents.

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